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ABSTRACT

The background and the current status of Chinese newspapers in the United States are examined in this paper. The first section considers early immigration patterns of Chinese people, their immigration to the West Coast of the United States beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, laws passed to exclude Chinese from legally entering the U.S., and the recent liberalization of U.S. immigration quotas for Chinese. Among the topics discussed in the second section are the early history of Chinese newspapers in the U.S., the way in which the Chinese press in the U.S. has been linked with events in China, current readership for Chinese newspapers, problems involved in setting type for Chinese characters, and the trend toward use of a colloquial newspaper style. The third section describes ten currently published Chinese newspapers and presents tables of data about them that show the amount of newspaper space devoted to news, nonfiction, fiction and literature, and advertising; the space devoted to specified geographic areas in China and the U.S.; and the space devoted to the inauguration of Chiang Ching-kuo as President of the Republic of China and to Zbigniew Brzezinski's visit to Peking. A brief concluding section notes problems peculiar to the Chinese press in the United States. (GT)

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Chinese newspapers in the United States: Background notes and descriptive analysis

by

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Presented to the Minorities and Communication Division, Association for Education in Journalism Annual Convention, Seattle, Washington, August 1978.

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Chinese newspapers in the United States: Background notes and descriptive analysis

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ABSTRACT

Of the many ethnic newspapers in the United States, the Chinese-language press is one of the few that is expanding and undergoing almost revolutionary change.

This paper first examines the immigration patterns that have had the most effect on newspaper circulation, beginning with the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. In 1965, a new act was passed under which Chinese could be admitted and become citizens. As a consequence of this act, more, and better, educated Chinese came to the United States and became readers of local Chinese newspapers.

Historically, this paper suggests that perhaps the first Chinese-language newspaper in the world was published in San Francisco, in 1854. A short outline of the Chinese press in the United States is presented, based on English and Chinese sources.

Most of the Chinese newspapers in the United States are examined, using content analysis, and categorized according to the 1) amount of news, advertising, literature, and non-fiction 2) country-of-reference of news category and 3) comparison of news play of Zbigniew Brzezinski's visit to the People's Republic of China and Chiang Ching-kuo's inauguration as President of the Republic of China.

The paper suggests that the Chinese press, in attempting to answer the unique informational and social needs of its' readership, remains, as it has for hundreds of years, an important, evolving, and expanding institution in the Chinese community.

Presented to the Minorities and Communication Division at the Association for Education in Journalism Annual Convention in Seattle, Washington, August 1978.

Chinese Newspapers In The United States:

Background Notes And Descriptive Analysis

The Chinese, one third of the world's population, have always had a great respect for the printed word. They have taken this respect for a distinct and unique language with them wherever they have gone. The Chinese press is found in such disparate countries as Singapore, Peru, and the United States (5). The United States has had Chinese newspapers since the mid-nineteenth century.

This paper has three major divisions, all of them brief. Each can be expanded extensively because, in comparison with other ethnic papers in American journalistic history, the Chinese press has been neglected.

The United States has had commercial and historical ties with China since Colonial times. The namesake of the Boston Tea Party had just been off-loaded from a boat inbound from Amoy, China (20). For the first hundred years of the nation, the China trade was an important part of the commerce of Salem, Boston, and Philadelphia. However, few Chinese people arrived on the Eastern seaboard.

By the middle of the last century, Chinese had begun immigrating and

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arriving on the West coast of the United States. The country began to develop, or discover, an anti-Oriental prejudice (11).

The traditional view has been that the American public had a positive view of China and the Chinese during the early years of the country before entering what Harold Isaccs, after administering a survey designed to determine American attitudes and views of Asians, titled the Age of Contempt in 1840 (21). This traditional view is now undergoing some revision and questioning (19).*

Whatever the prevailing attitude, Chinese began arriving on the West coast, subject to the pull of gold in California and the push from the homeland in the form of wars, rebellions, and famines.

The Chinese are not an emigrating people. They show greater reluctance to leave the homeland than most European peoples, considering any non-Chinese group, no matter how far advanced materially, to be barbarian. At various periods throughout Chinese history emigration was prohibited and the laws of the Ching dynasty (1644-1911) condemned every Chinese living abroad to death. This ruling was not relaxed until 1860, after thousands of Chinese had left (35).

During this period, the Chinese suffered through the Opium War (1840-1842) and the Anglo-French campaign (1848-1860). In the aftermath of these wars, treaties forced on the Chinese opened up more ports to foreigners, Canton in particular. Canton became the major trade center of the nineteenth century with the surrounding Kwangtung province and Pearl River delta furnishing most of the contract laborers. The predominance of this region is reflected even now in the Chinese restaurants

*An excellent capsule summary of these views is found in Jonathan Goldstein's Philadelphia and the China Trade, 1682-1846 (19). Of particular interest to journalistic historians is Stuart Creighton Miller's work and doctoral dissertation, The Chinese Image in the Eastern United States, 1785-1882 (29). This analysis is based on images in the media.

of the United States, where the majority cook Cantonese style (41). The principle home language of the Chinese in the United States is also Cantonese or other languages from Kwangtung, not the national language, Mandarin (Gúoyǔ) (41).

At mid-century, Canton also suffered heavily from the depredations of the Taiping Revolution and the Nien and Moslem rebellions which killed millions and caused famine conditions throughout large areas of southern China.

Because of the very limited number of ports open to foreigners, interchange between Chinese and foreigners was focused on Canton. The residents of Canton were probably less frightened about sailing 7,000 miles across an ocean to a barbarian land and found the idea less forbidding and preposterous than their countrymen in the north of China. The first news of gold would also be received here.

In 1848, when gold was first discovered in northern California, the first Chinese immigrants, two men and a woman, also arrived. These three were the vanguard of an immigration explosion. Less than three years later, there were 25,000 Chinese in the state (37).

In a few years, most of the surface gold was depleted and small miners of all nationalities found their work less and less productive. Many turned to work on the transcontinental railroad, doing much of the labor that most white men disdained. It was said the railroad was built from the east by "whiskey" (the Irish) and from the west by "tea" (the Chinese) (57).

In 1852, Governor Bigler of California kicked off what would become a national campaign to denounce the coming of the Chinese and close the borders to Asians (34).

Looking for scapegoats for the ills of the country, Daniel Kearney, with the help of the San Francisco Chronicle, then in a circulation war with the Morning Call, found the Chinese convenient (34). Their physical appearance, the retention of national

dress, and their large numbers (10 per cent of the California population in 1860) made them highly visible targets (38).

Throughout the western states, Chinese were stoned, robbed, assaulted and murdered. In one of the few studies of Chinese in America, Betty Sung wrote that "murdering Chinese became such a commonplace occurrence that the newspapers seldom bothered to print the stories (39).

The first of many acts excluding Chinese (Japanese and other Asians would not feel the effects until they also began emigrating early in this century) was passed in 1882, the Chinese Exclusion Act. These acts, extended under various names until 1943, would effectively exclude most Chinese from legally entering the country. The Scott Act of 1888 allowed only five specific classes to enter: officials, teachers, students, merchants and travelers. In practice, these were also excluded. The act also defined Chinese as any member of the Chinese race, whether a citizen of China or any other nation (40).

While the government was excluding Chinese, it was at the same time, demanding special treaty concessions and privileges for American merchants, missionaries, and sailors in China.

The Scott Act was only the beginning. Harsher measures were introduced as the years went by. The Chinese are the only race to be specifically excluded from the United States and immigration dropped precipitously. In 1882, just before the first exclusion act came into force, 40,000 Chinese entered the country. In 1887, 10 entered (43).

In 1943, a gesture was made to repeal the exclusion laws, when 105 Chinese immigrants were to be allowed every year. This quota included, again, all Chinese, whether a citizen or resident of China or any other country. Over the next 22 years, until 1965, a total of about 6,000 Chinese were admitted, most under specific refugee relief acts (43). Government policy was reflected in the country-of-origin

quotas. About 150,000 immigrants were to be admitted annually. Of this, 120,000 were to be from England, Germany, Ireland, and the Scandanavian countries. One provision was significant--Chinese, for the first time, were allowed to become citizens.

In 1965, the quotas were liberalized and the number of immigrants shot up from 4,000-5,000 per year to about 20,000 per year. These immigration strictures will be seen to have an effect on the Chinese newspapers and readership.

In 1970, the total Chinese population in the United States was about 432,000 (48). Compared to other ethnic groups, the number of foreign-born Chinese is high. In 1970, less than five per cent of the total American population, but about half the Chinese, was foreign-born (46). Another demographic characteristic of importance to newspapers is the clustering of Chinese communities. Although Chinese can be found in all 50 states, most are concentrated on the East and West coast, primarily San Francisco, the traditional center of Chinese population, and in New York, where the population is growing most rapidly. Honolulu, of course, has a large Chinese population, but the rate of increase is slowing. The three states of New York, California, and Hawaii have three-fouths of the Chinese population (45). In terms of absolute numbers, Honolulu is overshadowed by New York and San Francisco. San Francisco's Chinatown population, further, is dispersing to the suburbs of Stockton and San Jose. Since the immigration laws were changed in 1965, New York's Chinatown population is increasing faster than the combined increase of the next nine ranked metropolitan areas as immigrants aim for New York (50). Other major areas of population concentration are Los Angeles, Chicago, Boston, Sacramento, Washington, D. C., Seattle, and Philadelphia. One, somewhat surprising new addition to the list is Houston (49). Although still small, the population was large enough to lead to the birth, but apparently short life, of the Southwest Times in 1976 (9).

Now scattered throughout the country, the first immigrants were centered in a small section of San Francisco and got the news of China from newly arriving ships, paralleling the first stages of many other developing news systems. This news was displayed on large posters (dàzi bào) in public places has been, and is, common throughout China (15).

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The Jīn Shān Xīn Wén (Golden Hills News), a four page, lithographed weekly was the first Chinese newspaper to be published in the United States. The date of the first issue is questionable. The majority of standard sources on Chinese journalism such as Feng (13) and Tseng (54) indicate 1854, although Wang cites one source giving 1851 (58). Mott, in his American Journalism gives 1876 as the date of the first Chinese paper, but he is referring to the Wah Kee (The Oriental) (31). Several weeklies and a daily paper preceded the Wah Kee in San Francisco (60).

Whatever date is finally agreed on after further research, the Golden Hills News antedates the first paper published in China in Chinese, the Shang Hai Hsin Pao (Shanghai News), which began in 1862 as the Chinese edition of the North China Herald (53). This would follow a precedent established by William Milne who published the first Chinese periodical, not in China, but in Malacca in 1815. It was entitled The General Monthly Record, Containing an Investigation of Opinions and Practices of Society (Chì shísu Měiyuè Tǒngjichuán) (3).*

The Golden Hills News lasted less than a year and was followed by the bi-lingual

*Whether the Golden Hills News was the first Chinese paper in the world must await further research on the Chung Ngoi San Po, a daily published in Hong Kong based on translations from The China Mail. Y. P. Wang in his booklet based on his thesis at Columbia gives the first publication date as 1852 (68). Tseng gives the date as 1858, while Chen Mong Hock in her Early Chinese Newspapers of Singapore gives an approximate date of 1860 (53, 6).

religious paper, The Oriental, which ceased publication in 1857 (61). The Chinese were without their own paper until 1862 when the Chinese Immigrants Weekly (Wah Kui Chow Pao) was founded as the first of several weeklies in the latter part of the century including The Recorder, Tong Fan San Bo, the Weekly Occidental and the American and Chinese Commercial News (60).

Towards the end of the period, two other cities, aside from Honolulu, had Chinese papers. The Chinese-American Advocate was published in Philadelphia from 1892-1895 and Chicago, from 1895 to 1897, had the Chinese News Weekly (62).

These early papers were usually printed with black ink on single sheets of thin white paper by lithography, since movable type had to be shipped from Hong Kong or Japan. On special occasions, red ink, signifying good luck was used. An edition of 1,000 required five working days. The complete paper might consist of two to four leaves, mainly filled with advertisements and news from Hong Kong and China (8).

The Chinese press of the United States was inextricably linked with events in China. As the Ching, or Manchu, dynasty headed toward its end in 1911, two major political movements appeared, each with ideas on how best to handle the impact of the West and modernization on Chinese society and culture. Adherents of both sides sought support from the huách'iao, or overseas Chinese, in Hong Kong, Singapore, Honolulu, and San Francisco. In common with many other papers of the day, each faction started, or supported, newspapers friendly to their cause. There were, of course, factions within factions, each telling their views in partisan newspapers, some of which lasted for only a few issues. There is no definitive account of the period from about 1898 to the founding of the Chinese Republic in 1912.

The leader of one of the two main factions, the revolutionary faction, was Sun Yat-sen who believed that mere reform of the existing government was not possible and the Manchu regime should be completely overthrown. Among the papers

Sun established was the Young China in San Francisco in 1910. It was already established as the weekly Youth and Sun changed it to a daily and combined it with the New Era (16).

The oldest newspaper in the present United States is the New China Daily Press in Honolulu, established in 1900 by Liang Chi-chao, journalist, reformer, and bitter opponent of Sun Yat-Sen. A leader of the reform faction, Liang believed that change within the existing government, rather than revolution, was the solution to China's problems (63).

The next 60 years saw a number of Chinese papers founded by various cliques and factions. Generally, those papers which have survived longest were the ones started as commercial enterprises, rather than as political dogma.

Changes in the immigration act in 1965 seems to have guaranteed a continuing readership for the Chinese papers. As with most ethnic groups, most of the readership are either older people who are more at home with the native language, or immigrants, still not used to using English in day-to-day communication. As the older people die off, this end of the readership declines and, in the case of most ethnic groups, immigration declines. This, however, is not the case with the Chinese. From new arrivals numbering in the hundreds prior to 1965, the new arrivals now come close to the 20,000 a year quota limit (44). With all these new arrivals with their desire to continue using Chinese and the large percentage of immigrants already in the United States that list Chinese as the mother tongue (47), the future looks bright for Chinese newspapers in an area where immigration is high. Andy McCue estimates that 5,000-7,000 potential new readers per year arrive in New York (28). One editor estimates about 2,000 Chinese immigrants arrive in San Francisco every year (26).

A distinction must be made between the spoken and written languages.

When speaking of the spoken language, there is not one language called "Chinese." There are many, mutually unintelligible. These are commonly called dialects. This is not merely the difference between the pronunication of rural Alabama and urban Brooklyn. Cantonese is unintelligible to a person who knows only Hokkien. In an attempt to remedy this, language based on that used around Peking has been adopted in schools throughout the Chinese communities of the world. This is called guoyu, usually translated as "Mandarin" by non-Chinese. This common spoken language is slowly being adopted in major Chinese areas as the lingua franca between Chinese. In the United States, children learn English, unless they go to a Chinese school. At home, they normally speak the mother tongue of their parents.

The commonality in Chinese and part of the cement of the Chinese cultural world is the written form. The written form is accessible to any literate Chinese, no matter what other language is spoken. An analogy might be Arabic numerals in Western languages. A speaker of Russian, English, or Spanish, seeing "2" will assign different pronunciations to it, but the meaning is the same and needs no translation.

The written form of Chinese consists of thousands of ideographic characters rather than the 26 symbols in English. Even when reduced to 5,000-6,000 characters as used in a Chinese type shop, the type case is enormous. In the U. S., due to the low literacy on the part of older readers, who originally came as laborers, the number of characters normally used may be further reduced to about 2,000-3,000 (26).

The great number of types required for setting movable type and the limited sources of supply enabled a crude form of censorship to be applied to overseas Chinese presses during the time of the propaganda wars between factions in the 1900's. The Chinese government simply banned the export of type, forcing printers either to set up their own foundries at great cost or purchase type from Yokahama (33).

In principle, the written language is a common language. In practice, the literate Chinese will, many times, be able to determine the original language of the writer, based on minor differences, just as a person literate in English will be aware of differences between English and American usage and spelling, e. g. elevator/lift, color/colour. This does not normally interfere with understanding.

Obviously, several thousand characters are difficult to learn and this has led to language reform. One of the early goals of the reform faction was to reform the written language. Writers and journalists such as Liang Chi-chao and Hu Shih campaigned for the use of the colloquial, bai-hua style of writing, rather than the wen-hua style to open reading to a larger audience. The wen-hua or classical style was heavily dependent on much formal education to understand the historical and literary allusions, archaic characters, and telegraphic style. Early newspapers, edited primarily by scholars and educated people were written in this classical style. As late as 1933, some American-Chinese papers were written in this style (22).

Chinese papers are now written in the colloquial style. In the People's Republic of China and some parts of Southeast Asia, the written characters are also being simplified. Instead of using 25 strokes to write one character, the number might be reduced to 4. Introduced first under the Communists, this simplification took on a political overtone, limiting its' use in some countries. No United States papers use the simplified form.

A Chinese newspaper usually has the front page on what the English reader would call the back page, the main fold being on the right. In the United States, the exception is the Chinese Times which is laid out with the front page where a reader of English would expect to find it. On a page, text is usually read from top-to-bottom, in horizontal columns from right-to-left. Heads may be set to read top-to-bottom or right-to-left. Although not common in the United States, except

in display ads, text may be written top-to-bottom, right-to-left, and left-to-right on the same page. Column widths vary, without any standardization. Stories are not jumped from page to page. Body type size varies greatly so differing amounts of information can be contained in the same area. For example, the New Kwong Tai Press has the fewest number of characters per unit area (3.76 characters/cm.^{2}), while The China Post has 50 percent more characters (5.71 characters/cm.^{2}) and World Journal and Sing Tao have about twice as many (7.90 and 7.00 characters/cm.^{2}, respectively). All dailies are broad sheet size (about 20" x 17").

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The China Times (Zhongguó Shíbào)* formed in 1962 is considered pro-Kuomintang or pro-Taiwan (66). It is a 12 page daily published in New York, with a circulation of 12,000 according to manager, Richard Yuan (69).

The World Journal (Shìjie Ribao) is the newest daily, starting in 1976. It is part of the same chain that prints the United Daily News and the Economic Daily News in Taipei (24). Page proofs are transmitted by satellite from Taiwan to New York and San Francisco where the paper is printed (27). Originally running 12 pages, the paper now usually runs 17 to 20.

The China Daily News (Huáchiao Ribao) was a bi-weekly when Andy McCue studied it in 197[illegible] (28). Formed in 1940 and running eight pages, it has a circulation of "several thousand" according to Andrew Kwan, the editor (23).

The China Tribune (Huáměi Ribao) was founded in 1943 and is considered pro-Kuomintang (66). A daily, it normally prints eight pages, uses red ink for headlines

*Parentheses following the English name contains the pinyin transliteration of the name if a standard transliteration is not used by the paper. The Chinese names are not, necessarily, strictly translated into English, e. g., the Chinese name of the The China Tribune is the Chinese-American Daily News.

and places some ads on the front page. In 1976, it had a circulation of about 10,000 (12).

The China Post (Niuyue Ribao) was established in 1972 in an attempt to bring more New York news to the newspaper reader (28). Normally a 12 pager, it is independent and considered a leader of change. Circulation runs about 20,000 (2).

The Sing Tao Jih Pao is relatively new (publishing started in 1964 in San Francisco and in 1969 in New York) and is one of the more interesting dailies (14). It publishes editions in New York, Vancouver, and Toronto, and has a combined circulation of 38,000 according to John Fong, Secretary and Treasurer (14). New to the United States, Sing Tao is a division of a company which publishes some of the leading English and Chinese-language papers in Hong Kong and Southeast Asia. Sing Tao was started by businessman Au Boon-Haw in 1938 with the original purpose of carrying advertising for his Tiger Balm, a Chinese proprietary salve manufactured and distributed by Au (4). Originally, comera-ready copy was flown to the United States from Hong Kong and a half page of local news added (28). Now, facsimile copy is transmitted by satellite from Hong Kong and phototypeset in San Francisco and New York on Japanese-manufactured phototypesetters capable of setting the Chinese characters (14). Still, most copy is concerned with Hong Kong (Table 2).

Sing Tao is politically neutral, printing about 20 pages a day, more than most other Chinese papers. It also uses red ink for heads on the front and back pages, and in ads on the inside pages.

On Saturday, Sing Tao Weekly, a general interest supplement, is distributed with the paper. This tabloid supplement is printed in Hong Kong.*

The Chinese Times (Jinshan Shibao), "The only Chinese daily owned, edited and published by citizens of the United States,"** has a circulation of 15,000 according

*Figures on the supplement are not included in the analysis.

**Slogan on the nameplate.

to the editor, Paul C. Chiu (10). Nominally independent, it at times tends to a pro-Kuomintang bias. Founded in 1924, the Chinese name Jinshan Shibao translates literally to Golden Hills Times, reminiscent of the first Chinese paper in 1854, the Golden Hills News.

The Young China (Shàonián Zhōngguó) also published in San Francisco, is a pro-Kuomintang paper with a circulation of 5,000 (26). Normally running 16 pages, it occasionally runs 20. The very smallest size of type is not used because "many of our readers are older," says T. C. Ma, the editor (26).

Two weekly papers, the Chinese Pacific Weekly published in San Francisco and the New Kwong Tai Press published in Los Angeles, are tabloids. The Chinese Pacific Weekly (Tàipíngyáng Zhōubào) is considered pro-Communist (55) and in 1976 had a circulation of about 3,500 (12). It is published on Thursday. The New Kwong Tai Press (Xīn Guāng Dàbào) appears on Saturday. Editor William Chen says the circulation is about 10,000 (7). It was founded in 1961 and is anti-Communist (56). Sixteen pages are usually printed.

Another weekly published in Los Angeles is the American-Chinese News (Méi-Huá Xīnbào). It was founded about 13-14 years ago by the current editor, Lin Yin Po, who previously had been an editor on the Chinese Times in San Francisco. Lin says the circulation is about 5,000 (25).

East/West (Dōngsī Bào) is a 16 page, bi-lungual weekly, begun in 1967 and published on Wednesday in San Francisco (67). It is important because, in the past, bi-lingual papers have rarely been successful. Once a person begins to read English, he or she tends to buy the more comprehensive English paper (42). The Young China began an English-Chinese section in 1964, but discontinued it in 1966 (64).

The subscription rate for most Chinese daily papers is $30 a year or 15 cents per copy. A notable exception is Sing Tao, which is priced at $42 a year.

All of the papers are on the news stands early in the afternoon in the cities of publication, but mail subscriptions constitute a significant part of circulation. Copies are mailed to subscribers in other cities, such as Chicago, Philadelphia, Toronto, Vancouver, and Seattle.

For a descriptive analysis, editors of most of the above papers (East/West and American-Chinese News were not included at that time) were contacted and asked for copies of their papers from May 15-20, 1978 to make up the ten paper sample. As far as can be determined, this includes all Chinese daily papers published in the United States.*

This sample does not allow for broad descriptions of the current Chinese press in the United States: however, it does give an idea of content during one week in 1978, with all the attendant caveats on the use and interpretations of any content analysis.

The first table divides all space in the papers into one of four categories: news, non-fiction feature, fiction/literature, and advertising.

The news and advertising categories are self-explanatory. Non-fiction features and fiction/literature set the Chinese papers apart from English-language papers. One editor, Emile Bocian, of The China Post explained that one of the functions of the Chinese press is to help newly arrived immigrants become assimilated into the local culture and life (1). To help with this, many features are run on consumer information, education, movies and entertainment.

The fiction/literature category includes such things as serializations of novels, short stories, and general essays. The amount of space devoted to this category is characteristic of Asian journalism (32). Historically, Chinese journalists have

*Honolulu papers were not included. Copies of the United Journal in New York were not received and the San Francisco Chinese World returned the letter.

not limited themselves to journalism, but worked in other fields. Kang Yu-wei, friend and advocate of Liang Chi-Chaio's reform movement, was a poet, astronomer, and philosopher as well as a journalist. He also wrote for the Chinese World newspaper in San Fransicso (17).

Table 1 makes clear the dominant role played by advertising in these papers. The papers have limited circulation, generally meager budgets, and all the other handicaps that face foreign-language newspapers in the United States. News takes a lower space precedence under these conditions. Generally, news is limited to summarizing the most important events and, as might be expected, is picked according to the geographical interests of the readership.

Table 2 breaks down the results when the news category from Table 1 is described by geographical area. Datelines are not necessarily the determining factor, since a story could be about one area and carry a differing dateline. A story might be filed from Hong Kong and still be about the People's Republic of China (PRC) or the Republic of China (ROC) on Taiwan. A sample picked over the limited time period of this sample does not allow for definitive statements, but some figures indicate interesting areas for further investigation.

Following the designations of McCue (28), news stories are coded according to country. Table 2 lists only six divisions abstracted from the more detailed full analysis. One major division is news about the United States, further split up into news about the United States in general, the local metropolitan area (either San Francisco or New York), and finally the respective Chinatown. The other major category is called the Chinese cultural area and is sub-divided into the PRC, the ROC, and Hong Kong.

The ratio of U. S. news to China cultural area news approaches equality most nearly in the China Times and The China Tribune; the China Times slightly favors

news of the U. S. while The China Tribune slightly favors news of the Chinese cultural area. The Communist China Daily News presents approximately equal news from both areas, with relatively little more space devoted to news of the PRC.

The ratio extremities are the Sing Tao Jih Pao which devoted more than four times as much space to news of the Chinese cultural areas than to U. S. news, and the Chinese Times ("...owned, edited and published by citizens of the United States"), at the other end of the scale, which used about three times more news of the United States than news of the Chinese cultural area.

The subdivisions reflect more specifically the various paper's areas of concern. The Hong Kong-based Sing Tao alloted three times as much space to news from Hong Kong as it did to news from the PRC and the ROC combined. The Communist China Daily News devoted three times as much space to news of the PRC as to news of the ROC on Taiwan. The China Tribune is considered pro-Kuomintang, but devoted almost exactly as much space to the PRC as to the ROC.

If news of the immediate area of Chinatown is considered a rough measure of the interest of the editors in helping new immigrants assimilate and "explain American culture to the ethnic community," (2) the China Times in New York and the Chinese Times in San Francisco are the leaders.

An early question in any discussion of Chinese newspapers is their political orientation. From the latter part of the nineteenth century, newspapers have been seen to, and expected to have the support of particular factions. This, of course, is not unique to Chinese newspapers. Currently, this division is usually between the pro-PRC/Peking and pro-ROC/Taiwan. Hong Kong is considered political neutral ground.

In the extended analysis, of which this is only a part, one field was the "subject" category. Although the week of May 15-20 was not picked with this in

mind, the week happened to include the day when Carter's National Security Advisor, Zbigniew Brzezinski made an official visit to Peking and Chiang Ching-kuo was inaugurated as president of the ROC in Taiwan. After the congruence of these events became known, a category was assigned to these two events. It was felt that, keeping the appropriate limitations in mind, the amount of space devoted to each event would give at least an indication of the political interest of the newspapers in the sample.

Table 3 shows the percentage of news space devoted to Brzezinski's visit and Chiang's inauguration, both of which occurred on the 20th of May. In the middle is The China Post which takes its independent stance very seriously. It devoted almost equal space to both events.

The paper is so concerned with equal coverage, that three days later, on the 23rd of May, it covered demonstrations in New York, one for Chiang and one for Brzezinski's visit. The paper played photographic coverage of the demonstrations on one-half page. Display, space, and number of pictures were exactly equal.

As might be expected, the China Daily News gave seven times as much space to Brzezinski in Peking as to the inauguration of Chiang Ching-kuo in Taipei.

On the other end of the scale was the Chinese Times which devoted 35 times as much space to Chiang as to Brzezinski.

Overall, most of the play went to Brzezinski in Peking.

The Young China had a special supplement on the inauguration paid for by Chinese communities around the country. This was included in the edition of May 20, but is not included in any of the figures.

iv

Besides the problems common to any ethnic press, the Chinese press has problems peculiar to it.

At base is the Chinese language itself. Modern technology, in the form of satellites and phototypesetters, is reducing some of the restraints of setting Chinese characters and printing. At the same time, national distribution is being improved.

Early immigrants, many times, had a limited command of the native, written language. This has been changing since the passage of the McClelland Immigration Act of 1965. Increasing numbers of professional and technical people are arriving, fluent only in Chinese (51) and also accustomed to the papers they left behind in Hong Kong and Taipei. At the same time, American Chinese-language newspapers are becoming more aware of the part they can play in easing the transition of these new immigrants to American culture.

Under the old immigration laws, editors and reporters were classified as laborers, thus finding it difficult to immigrate to the United States, even with some liberalization of the immigration laws (18). There was no opportunity to build a corps of trained, professional journalists in the United States, even though the first university department of journalism was started in China in 1921 (30).

Many early papers were the organs of political factions and, to some extent, this tradition has continued to the present day, though this too is changing as the newspapers evolve.

The Chinese press, in attempting to answer the unique informational and social needs of its' readership, seems destined to remain, as it has for hundreds of years, an important, evolving, and expanding institution in the Chinese community.

Table 1

Newspaper space devoted to news, non-fiction feature, fiction/literature and advertising

Newspaper \ Category	News	Non-fiction feature	Fiction/ Literature	Advertising
China Times	23%	11%	9%	56%
World Journal	27	10	11	51
China Daily News	32	25	9	35
The China Tribune	24	15	26	36
The China Post	29	10	15	46
Sing Tao Jih Pao	21	9	14	57
Chinese Times	20	10	2	68
The Young China	21	15	10	55
The Chinese Pacific Weekly	26	24	--	51
New Kwong Tai Press	13	5	4	78
Average	24	13	10	53

Table 2

Newspaper space devoted to geographic areas*
(Includes only "news" category from Table 1)

China Times		
U. S. National	19.2%	
Local metropolitan area	12.2%	
Chinatown	16.6%	
Total U. S. A.		48.0%
PRC	5.0%	
ROC	15.3%	
Hong Kong	17.8%	
Total Chinese cultural area		38.0%
World Journal		
U. S. National	21.0	
Local metropolitan area	10.4	
Chinatown	4.5	
Total U. S. A.		35.9
PRC	7.0	
ROC	27.8	
Hong Kong	19.2	
Total Chinese cultural area		54.0
China Daily News		
U. S. National	23.3	
Local metropolitan area	4.9	
Chinatown	12.9	
Total U. S. A.		41.1
PRC	23.5	
ROC	7.7	
Hong Kong	17.7	
Total Chinese cultural area		48.8
The China Tribune		
U. S. National	16.6	
Local metropolitan area	6.5	
Chinatown	16.5	
Total U. S. A.		39.6
PRC	5.6	
ROC	5.4	
Hong Kong	34.1	
Total Chinese cultural area		45.0

*Figures given only for these six divisions.
Remainder would be all other countries.

Table 2, continued

The China Post		
U. S. National	16.6	
Local metropolitan area	10.4	
Chinatown	8.2	
Total U. S. A.		35.2
PRC	7.7	
ROC	12.7	
Hong Kong	26.4	
Total Chinese cultural area		46.8
Sing Tao Jih Pao		
U. S. National	6.2	
Local metropolitan area	3.5	
Chinatown	4.9	
Total U. S. A.		14.6
PRC	6.7	
ROC	9.0	
Hong Kong	47.1	
Total Chinese cultural area		62.9
Chinese Times		
U. S. National	40.0	
Local metropolitan area	6.0	
Chinatown	16.3	
Total U. S. A.		62.2
PRC	6.7	
ROC	3.1	
Hong Kong	12.4	
Total Chinese cultural area		22.2
The Young China		
U. S. National	44.5	
Local metropolitan area	7.9	
Chinatown	11.2	
Total U. S. A.		63.6
PRC	2.9	
ROC	12.9	
Hong Kong	11.6	
Total Chinese cultural area		27.4

Table 2, continued

The Chinese Pacific Weekly		
U. S. National	26.3	
Local metropolitan area	14.9	
Chinatown	4.0	
Total U. S. A.		45.2
PRC	46.8	
ROC	0.0	
Hong Kong	0.0	
Total Chinese cultural area		46.8
New Kwong Tai Press		
U. S. National	15.8	
Local metropolitan area	19.7	
Chinatown	44.9	
Total U. S. A.		80.3
PRC	0.8	
ROC	10.5	
Hong Kong	0.0	
Total Chinese cultural area		11.3

Table 3

Newspaper space devoted to
Inauguration of Chiang Ching-kuo and
Brzezinski's visit to Peking
(Includes only "news" category from Table 1)

	Brzezinski	Chiang
China Times	0.71%	.13%
World Journal	5.36	1.78
China Daily News	8.38	1.19
The China Tribune	6.57	1.08
The China Post	1.38	1.48
Sing Tao Jih Pao	.77	1.28
Chinese Times	6.76	.19
The Young China	6.83	1.32
The Chinese Pacific Weekly	0.00	40.00
New Kwong Tai Press	19.00	.80

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